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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 15191

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINR, UK

SUBJECT: RETROSPECTIVE ON THATCHER VISIT TO US

REFERENCE: LONDON 13954 (NOTAL)

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SUMMARY: MARGARET THATCHER, LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE

PARTY, VISITED US SEPTEMBER 13-23. IN ADDITION TO HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS AND CALLS IN WASHINGTON (PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, CONGRESS), NEW YORK AND CHICAGO (MAYOR DALEY), MRS. THATCHER DELIVERED FOUR SPEECHES ON-THE-RECORD, GAVE PRESS CONFERENCES, AND APPEARED ON NATION-WIDE INTERVIEWS AND TALK SHOWS. FOLLOWING RETURN TO BRITAIN AFTER BRIEF STOP IN CANADA, MRS. THATCHER GAVE PRESS CONFERENCE EXPRESSING PLEASURE AT RECEPTION ACCORDED TO HER. THIS REPORT ATTEMPTS PROVIDE SOME SUMMARY VIEWS OF HER TRIP AS WELL AS COMMENTS ON THEMES SHE STRESSED IN US TALKS. END SUMMARY

1. CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER MARGARET THATCHER COMPLETED AMBITIOUS TRIP TO US AND CANADA SEPTEMBER 25. TRIP WAS PLANNED IN GREAT DETAIL BY HER EXECUTIVE OFFICE WITH CLOSE COOPERATION OF FCO WHICH ACCORDED HER VIP STATUS AS OPPOSITION LEADER EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT. TRIP WAS PLANNED WITH THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING MRS. THATCHER WITH DIRECT CONTACT WITH AMERICAN AND CANADIAN POLITICAL FIGURES, THUS REINFORCING HER CREDENTIALS FOR LEADERSHIP OF CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND BROADENING HER BASE OF EXPERTISE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND REMEDYING A DEFICIENCY IN HER BACKGROUND WHICH SHE OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED AT TIME HER ELECTION TO LEADERSHIP POSITION.

2. ORIGINAL PLANS HAD BEEN FOR MRS. THATCHER TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY HER EXECUTIVE OFFICER AIREY NEAVE, WHO IS ALSO SHADOW SPOKESMAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND, TO ACT AS POLITICAL ADVISOR AS WELL AS INTERMEDIARY WITH MEDIA. WITH DETERIORATION OF SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, NEAVE CANCELLED TRIP AND PARTY SENT ADVANCE MAN TO HANDLE MEDIA AND PRESS. MR. THATCHER ALSO ACCOMPANIED HER.

3. IN EFFORT TO REDUCE EXPENSES OF TRIP WHICH WAS FUNDED BY PARTY, TRANSATLANTIC TRAVEL WAS BY CHARTER (LAKER) WHICH MEANT MRS. THATCHER LANDED IN PRESTWICK UPON RETURN FCO ALSO COORDINATED ARRANGEMENTS FOR MR. AND MRS. THATCHER TO STAY AS GUESTS IN HOMES OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK, WASHINGTON AND CHICAGO.

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4. ONE OF ORIGINAL IMPETUSES FOR MRS. THATCHER'S TRIP WAS INVITATION TO GIVE THE WALTER HELLER MEMORIAL LECTURE AT ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY IN CHICAGO. SHE HAD ALSO EARLIER MET SECRETARY AND VICE PRESIDENT IN LONDON AND FELT REASONABLY SURE OF RECEPTIVITY AT HIGH-LEVEL IN WASHINGTON. PRESS CLUB INVITATION IN WASHINGTON CAME SOMEWHAT LATER AS DID THE INVITATIONS TO SPEAK AT INSTITUTE OF SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES (NEW YORK) AND AT

PILGRIM SOCIETY (NEW YORK). LATTER INVITATION WAS STIMULATED BY LONDON REPRESENTATIVES OF NEW YORK WALL STREET FIRM.

5. IN HER PRESS CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 26, MRS. THATCHER MADE STRONG POINT OF HIGH-LEVEL RECEPTION SHE HAD BEEN ACCORDED. SOME CRITICAL COMMENTS POINT OUT THAT HER REACTION WAS SOMEWHAT NAIVE, EVEN GIRLISH, AND THAT SHE INTERPRETED HOSPITABLE GESTURE OF AMERICANS AS PERSONAL (I.E., FOR HERSELF) RATHER THAN OFFICIAL WELCOME EXTENDED BY AMERICANS TO LEADERS OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES IN BRITAIN. SHE LEFT NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, BY LISTING HER CON-

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VERSATIONS, THAT SHE HAD, IN EFFECT, JOINED THE BIG
LEAGUE AND WAS BOTH WELCOMED AND LISTENED TO.

6. CONSERVATIVE RESEARCH OFFICE OFFICIAL WHO ASSISTED
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IN PREPARATION OF HER TRIP TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER THAT
SMALL MEASURE OF DISAPPOINTMENT EXISTED ABOUT LOW-LEVEL
COVERAGE OF HER SPEECHES IN US. WHILE SHE WAS OBVIOUSLY
PLEASED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY TV PERSONALITIES, SHE AP-
PARENTLY EXPRESSED SOME FEELING THAT AMERICAN MEDIA
TREATED HER SOMEWHAT AS A PHENOMENON (THE SUCCESSFUL
WOMAN IN MALE-DOMINATED POLITICS) WITH CONCURRENT DISRE-
GARD OF THE MESSAGE SHE WAS TRYING TO BRING TO AMERICA.

7. MRS. THATCHER IN REALITY HAD VERY LITTLE NEW TO TELL
AMERICA. A REVIEW OF HER AMERICAN SPEECHES SHOWS THAT
THEY ARE TYPICAL THATCHER PRODUCTS INVOLVING A MIX OF
STATISTICS ON ECONOMICS, GLITTERINGLY DELIVERED, WITH
OCCASIONAL PUNGENT TURNS OF PHRASES TO POINT UP THE EM-
PHASIS ON CONSERVATIVE "VALUES". SHE MADE AN EFFORT
THROUGHOUT TO LEAVE NO DOUBT OF HER CRITICISM OF SOME
POLICIES OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT (TAXATION POLICY, NA-
TIONALIZATION, LACK OF SUCCESS IN DEALING WITH INFLATION,
ETC.) BUT AT THE SAME TIME PROFESSED STRONG FAITH IN THE
ABILITY OF BRITAIN TO OVERCOME ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC DIF-
FICULTIES.

8. EACH OF THE FOUR SPEECHES HAD ITS OWN PECULIAR ATMOS-
PHERE AND DESIGN WITH THE CHICAGO SPEECH ZEROING IN MOST
CLEARLY ON ECONOMICS AND INFLATION. IN HER FIRST SPEECH,
HOWEVER, SHE INTRODUCED THE EQUALITY THEME WHICH GAINED
ADDITIONAL HEADLINES AFTER HER SPEECH IN CANADA. MAKING
HEAVY USE OF THE RECENT STUDY OF THE STANDING ROYAL COM-
MISSION ON DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND WEALTH, MRS.
THATCHER STRESSED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FACTS ABOUT
ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN THE UK AS OPPOSED TO THE MYTHS.
HER CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE RICH IN BRITAIN ARE GETTING
POORER WHILE THE POOR ARE GETTING RICHER, BOTH BECAUSE OF
MARKET FACTORS AS WELL AS THROUGH GOVERNMENT TAXATION

POLICIES.

9. SHE CONTINUED TO ATTACK GOVERNMENT TAXATION POLICIES WHICH REDUCE INCENTIVES FOR RENEWED INVESTMENT AND CARRY THE THREAT OF FURTHER NATIONALIZATION. WITH PRESSURE FOR WAGE INCREASES, PROFITS WHICH PROVIDE INVESTMENT SOURCES HAVE FALLEN. SHE HINTED THAT THE WAY OUT OF THIS PAR-
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TICULAR ECONOMIC DILEMMA WOULD BE CONTINUED LIMITATIONS ON WAGE INCREASES WHILE PERMITTING PRICES TO RISE AND TO PROVIDE A GREATER RATE OF PROFIT.

10. MRS. THATCHER ALSO INSISTED THAT BRITAIN MUST STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE GROWING DEMANDS AND POWERS OF THE STATE AND THE VITAL ROLE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. GOVERNMENT MUST, THEREFORE, LIMIT IN THE FUTURE ITS ACTIVITIES IN ORDER TO AVOID HARMING PROFITS INVESTMENT, INNOVATION AND FUTURE GROWTH.

11. THE PILGRIM LECTURE CONCENTRATED HEAVILY ON BRITISH/AMERICAN RELATIONS BUT ALSO INTRODUCED A DISTINCTION BETWEEN DETENTE AND ATTENTE. THIS DISTINCTION ALSO APPEARS IN THE PRESS CLUB AND CHICAGO SPEECHES AS WELL. SHE FURTHERMORE INTRODUCED PORTUGAL AS A KIND OF TEST CASE OF DETENTE ALONG WITH THE VIENNA MBFR TALKS.

12. MRS. THATCHER'S TALK TO THE PRESS CLUB SHOWED THE SAME KIND OF SHORT PHRASE-CATCHING TERMINOLOGY THAT SHE USES CONFIDENTLY WHEN SPEAKING TO THE BRITISH PRESS. THIS SPEECH, FOLLOWED BY QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, WAS NOT DESIGNED AS MEANS OF CONVEYING THE HEAVY MESSAGE BUT OF

STATISTICS. (FYI: MRS. THATCHER SEEMS TO BE DEVELOPING QUITE A PERSONAL STYLE IN DEALING WITH THE PRESS, OCCASIONALLY USING A DIRECT AND EVEN HOSTILE TONE. THE BRITISH PRESS SEEMS TO PREFER HER STYLE TO THAT OF HEATH. END FYT)

13. IN CHICAGO, AFTER DISCLAIMING EXPERTISE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE, MRS. THATCHER FOCUSED HER REMARKS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, ON INFLATION, AND ON THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS. THROUGHOUT SHE STRESSED HER ROLE AS POLITICAL LEADER, BUT RATHER SKILLFULLY INTRODUCED THE SAME KIND OF REFERENCES TO BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC ILLS THAT SHE HAD COVERED

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IN EARLIER SPEECHES. WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
AMERICA'S BICENTENNIAL, SHE PROPOSED ADECLARATION OF
INTERDEPENDENCE IN GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, INCLUDING TRADE
AND PRICING, BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED ECONOMIES AND THE
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THIRD WORLD.

14. SUCH A DECLARATION SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING BASIC POINTS: (A) OBLIGATION OF NATIONS TO HELP EACH OTHER; (B) TRADE BETWEEN NATIONS SHOULD BE LIBERAL AND BASED ON FAIR COMPETITION; (C) FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES SHOULD ENCOURAGE AND NOT RESTRICT FLOW OF ECONOMIC RESOURCES; (D) NATIONS SHOULD CONSULT EACH OTHER BEFORE TAKING ACTIONS WHICH WOULD PRODUCE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON THE OTHER; (E) INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS SHOULD BE RESPECTED AS BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.

15. COMMENT: MRS. THATCHER'S TRIP CERTAINLY ACHIEVED THE AIMS SHE SET. A MEASURE OF ITS SUCCESS FROM AN INTERNAL POLITICAL POINT-OF-VIEW IS THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH HER TRIP AND HER STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN ATTACKED BY MEMBERS OF THE LABOR PARTY AND SOME COMMENTATORS. HER VISIT TO THE STATES WAS NEWS, AND THE BRITISH MEDIA COVERED IT EXTENSIVELY. FROM A PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT-OF-VIEW MRS. THATCHER IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUSLY BUOYED UP AND EXHILARATED BY HER TRIP WHICH IS, PERHAPS, A VERY SATISFYING THING TO HAVE BEHIND HER AS THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE APPROACHES.

16. THE CONFERENCE ITSELF WILL PROVIDE A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR HER TO STRENGTHEN HER HOLD ON THE PARTY AND, PERHAPS, DO SOMEWHAT MORE TOWARD SHAPING IT IN HER OWN IMAGE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT HEATH ALSO APPEARED IN THE US WHILE SHE WAS THERE, THAT HE WILL ALSO PUT IN AN APPEARANCE IN BLACKPOOL UPON RETURN FROM HIS TRIP AROUND THE WORLD, AND THAT THE TORY REFORM GROUP (COMPOSED LARGELY OF HEATH SUPPORTERS) HAS A FULL SCHEDULE OF FRINGE ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR BLACKPOOL.

17. FINALLY, TRIP CONFIRMS SERIOUS APPROACH MRS. THATCHER TAKES TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP. SHE PRESSED FOR HEAVY PROGRAMMING, INSISTED ON DRAFTING MOST OF HER SPEECHES HERSELF, AND SEEMED TO ENJOY THE PRESSURIZED ATMOSPHERE OF HER VISIT.

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